533
584
832
[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /1 ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". /1 : rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher" : ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

524
533
584
832

Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [191]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

Chapter XI

Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ) takes place near an "ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az' - ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴰⴽⵓⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' iman yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وعافيك [576] والله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves. [788]

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade). 291

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story: 173 291

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to protect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings. 173 183 291 183 291 576

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

826 832 142 114 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" — beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. [602] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *akalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [602] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [604] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal [114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *ehéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *ehéré wa'n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 [858] [553] It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 592 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

* 233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite ● [578] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which * 233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

291
516
524

Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *kerad*. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
● [576] [608] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[Text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-